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587 It may be noted that this custom may conflict with the other custom, previously mentioned, that a woman objects to marrying a man younger than herself. In the case mentioned by Mr Man a young man was compelled to marry a woman who was considerably his senior[1].

I believe that, in connection with, or underlying this custom there was an objection against a widow marrying a man who was older than her former husband (and who would therefore be his *ot-otoatue*). I regret that I cannot speak with certainty on these matters.

854 We may turn now to the duties to one another of parents and children. During their infancy the children are in the care of the mother. Children are, however, such favourites with the Andamanese that a child is played with and petted and nursed not only by his own father and mother but by everyone in the village. A woman with an unweaned child will often give suck [853] to the children of other women. Babies are not weaned till they are three or four years old.

[482] Before the children can walk, they are carried about by the mother, and sometimes by the father or other persons, in a bark sling (called *čiba* in *Aka-Jeru*), which is shown in Plate XIV.

857 After they can walk the children generally accompany their mothers in their expeditions near the camp for firewood or vegetables. When they are not with their mothers they amuse themselves with games in the village or on the beach. All the children of the coast villages learn to swim when they are very young, in fact almost as soon as they learn to walk, and many of their games are conducted in the water.

●868 When a boy reaches the age of five or six his father makes him a toy bow and arrows, and sometimes a toy canoe. From this time the boy begins to learn the occupations of men and begins to pick up knowledge about the animals and trees and fishes of his country. The girl, accompanying her mother on her expeditions to gather roots and seeds, or to catch fish or pick up molluscs on the reefs, learns what it is necessary for women to know.

855 Until the age of about eight to ten a child lives with his

[1] Man, *op. cit.* p. 139.

2:Man G-5 (1869-1880)1932 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

arises from no want of consideration for the weaker vessel, but simply because, if unnecessarily encumbered, the men would be unable to shoot or pursue any animal which might cross their path.

7. Such training as the children receive is undertaken by their parents or guardians; in the case of boys it consists merely in providing them with miniature weapons suitable to their age, and instructing them in their use: as they advance in years they accompany the men in their hunting and fishing expeditions, and, being by nature intelligent and emulous, they speedily acquire sufficient skill to enable them to afford material assistance to their elders.

8. The girls, similarly, are taught by their mothers, or other female guardians, how to fulfil the various duties which are regarded as essentially pertaining to their sex, and which I have described in the foregoing.

9. It seems hardly necessary to add that the unnatural custom of infanticide is unknown to the Andamanese,[1] and though the mortality among infants is excessive,[2] it is traceable to no want of affection, but to the injudicious treatment and lavish attentions bestowed upon the little ones by their ignorant though well-intentioned elders.[3]

10. For the better security of their babies, when travelling, women are in the habit of hanging round their necks a string the ends of which have been previously fastened to the infant's wrists; the child being then placed in a *chĭp-*,[4] cannot by any accident meet with a serious fall.

Attire.—1. Madame de Staël speaks of certain children being "*vêtu du climât:*" the same expressive remark may be applied to the Andamanese, for no clothing, as we understand the word, is worn by either sex; there are, however, certain so-called ornamental circlets, garters, bracelets, cinctures, and necklaces of bones,[5] wood, or shell, which are its substitute[6] and serve to

[1] The birth of a girl is usually as gratifying to the parents as that of a boy.

[2] *Vide ante* "Reproduction," paragraph 4.

[3] Dr. Day has correctly stated that "men and women seem equally fond of carrying the babies about; all pet them; when they cry for anything, they give it; and over-kindness early consigns the little one to the grave."

[4] *Vide* Appendix B, item 24.

[5] As far as we at present know, the *jārawa* do not wear necklaces of bone, or the skulls of their deceased relatives. The males of this tribe wear round their heads, waists, knees, and arms, fringes of string attached to a cord or cane, which are called by the *bŏjig-ngĭji*, *bĕria* (*vide* Plate IX, figs. 13, 13*a*, 13*b*).

[6] The relatives of a deceased person will commonly wear such of the ornaments as are in good condition, "in memoriam;" this is not, however, a distinguishing peculiarity, or one confined to savages.

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881 PUBERTY AND INITIATION--ideas, beliefs, and practices associated with first emissio seminis and first menstruation; rites of passage at or near puberty; prevalence of special initiation rites for each sex; ceremonial sponsors; function and purpose of ceremonial; mystery and seclusion; taboos; ordeals and tests; inculcation of secret lore; special instruction in sex life; ideas of death and rebirth; etc. See also:

Age at puberty 148
Mutilation 304
Masks 532
Bullroarers 536
Age-grades 561
Initiation into clubs and secret societies 575
Tests of marriageability 592
Artificial kin relationships 608
Concept of reincarnation 775
Taboos 796
Religious confirmation 796
Religious ceremonial 796
Menstruation 841
Sex training 864

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597 living with their own parents. The usual age of adoption seemed to me to be from nine or ten years upwards.

A man and his wife adopt in this way children belonging to a local group other than their own. The adopted child lives with his or her foster-parents, having a place in their hut and a share of their meals. From about the age of ten children of both sexes begin to be of service to their parents or foster-parents in many ways. The foster-parents treat their adopted children in exactly the same way that they would treat their own children, and the children on the other hand show the same regard and affection to their foster-parents that they do to their own parents, and assist them in every way that they can. Their own parents come to visit them at regular intervals.

881 882 The period of childhood is brought to an end at about the age of puberty by certain ceremonies to be described in the next chapter. After the beginning of these ceremonies a boy ceases to live in the hut of his parents or his foster-parents, and must live with the young unmarried men and widowers in what has been called the bachelors' hut. From this time until he marries, his services are constantly required by his parents or by his foster-parents, and he is expected to obey them and help them in any way he can. It is only after his marriage that he becomes relatively independent and free to please himself in his own actions, and even then he is required to provide his parents or his foster-parents with food, and to serve them in any way they may need.

A girl, during the period between the beginning of the initiation ceremonies and her marriage, continues, at any rate, in some cases, and in these days, to live with her parents or with foster-parents. Mr Man states that the unmarried women and girls occupy a spinsters' hut similar to the bachelors' hut. It is possible that this was the former custom. I found instances of an unmarried girl occupying a place in the hut of a married couple who made use of her services and controlled her conduct, regarding her in the light of a foster-daughter. On one occasion I found two unmarried girls occupying a separate hut adjoining that of a married couple, who looked after the girls who occupied it.

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The position of an unmarried girl is very similar to that of an unmarried youth. She is required to help her elders, in particular either her parents or her foster-parents, i.e. the married couple under whose care she is for the time being.

After marriage a son continues to help his parents, providing them with food and seeing that they are comfortable. If either a man or a woman lives in a local group other than that of his or her parents, he or she pays frequent visits to them.

From the time that a youth or girl ceases to belong to the family household, his or her duties to the parents are really only the same in kind as the duties that every young man and woman owes to all the older men and women. Though there is no difference in kind, yet a man or woman is expected to show more affection and respect for his or her own parents than to other persons of the same social standing.

The only other relationship, besides that of husband and wife and that of parents and children, which exists inside the family, is that between children of the same parents. The conduct of brothers to one another depends on their respective ages. The younger is expected to give way to the elder, while the latter protects and looks after the former. The relation of sisters to one another is similar.

The duties of a man and woman to his or her relatives, other than those to parents, brothers and sisters. and even to some extent the duties to these near relatives, are not distinguishable in kind from the duties he or she owes to other persons who are not relatives. Thus a young married man owes certain duties to all the older married men of about the age of his father. These duties are the same in kind as those towards his own father and his foster-father, the only difference being that he must defer more to his own father than to other men, and must be more constant in his attentions to him. I could not discover any way in which a man distinguished, in his dealings with them, his father's brother from his mother's brother. They are both of them older men whom he must respect and to whom he must make presents of food. Similarly a father's sister is not distinguished, so far as I could discover, from a mother's sister. A man treats both of them in much the same way that he treats

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mother of the man's wife on the other. In the *Akar-Bale* language such persons are said to be *aka-yat* to one another. A man or a woman will not have any immediate dealings with a person who is his *aka-yat*. He will not speak to him, and if they should meet or be sitting near to one another they would avoid looking at each other. On the other hand a man is constantly sending presents to his *aka-yat*. The natives say that two persons in this relation feel "shy" or "ashamed." (There is only one word in Andamanese for these two English words, *ot-ǰete* in *Aka-J̌eru*.) The shyness begins at the moment when a marriage between their respective children is first discussed as a possibility, and lasts apparently till death.

As throwing a little light on this peculiar relation it may be mentioned that a similar relation exists between two men who have been through either the turtle-eating ceremony or the pig-eating ceremony (to be described in the next chapter) on the same occasion. Two such men will avoid any contact with one another, not speaking to nor looking at each other when they chance to meet, but on the other hand they will be constantly giving each other presents of all kinds, sending them through some third person.

The main features of the relationship system of the Andaman Islanders may be briefly summed up. The duties that one person owes to another are determined much less by their relation to one another by consanguinity and marriage, than by their respective ages and social status. Even within the family, which nevertheless is of importance, the duty of a child to a parent is very little different from his duty to any other person of the same age. There is very little of any special customs relating to conduct towards different kinds of relatives. Corresponding to this we find very few terms to denote relationships and a considerable development of the terms which denote age and social status. Thus a man's duties to his elder brother are much the same as those towards the other men of the same age, and we find that there is no word for "elder brother" but only a term by which a man distinguishes all the men of his own generation older than himself from those who are younger. Similarly there are no duties that a man owes to his father's

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852 304 Every boy and girl has to undergo the operation of scarification. This is begun when the child is quite young, and a small portion of the body is operated on. The operation is repeated at intervals during childhood, until the whole body has been scarified. A small flake of quartz or glass is used, and a series of fine incisions are made in the skin. The usual method is to cover a small portion of the skin with a number of parallel rows of short cuts. The choice of the design (if it can be called such) rests entirely with the person who performs the operation, who is in all cases a woman. The incisions leave scars that can usually only be seen when close to the person. In the photograph of Plate XV a pattern of scars may be seen. In this case the incisions became infected and raised scars were produced, and it is for this reason that they are visible in the photograph. In ordinary cases raised scars are not produced and the scarification is hardly visible in a photograph.

The only reason that the natives give for this custom is either that it improves the personal appearance, or else that it helps to make the child grow strong.

• 881 In the case of a girl the period of childhood is brought to a close by a ceremony that takes place on the occasion of her first menstrual discharge. The ceremony I describe is that in use in the Northern tribes, but I believe that the ceremony of the Southern tribes is very similar. On the occurrence of the first menstrual discharge the girl tells her parents, who weep over her. She must then go and bathe in the sea for an hour [343] or two by herself. After that she goes back to her parents' hut or to a special shelter that is put up for the occasion. She is 881 292 not required to go away from the camp. All ornaments are removed from her, only a single belt of *Pandanus* leaf being left, with an apron of *čainyo* leaves. Strips of *Pandanus* leaf are attached round her arms near the shoulders and round her wrists, and others are placed as bands crossing her chest from the shoulder to the waist on the opposite side, and crossing her abdomen from the iliac crest on the one side to the trochanter on the other. These are so attached that the long loose ends hang down at the girl's side. Bunches of leaves, either *čelmo* (*Tetranthera lancæfolia*) or, if these be not obtainable, *poramo* (*Myristica longifolia*) are

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
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fastened beneath her belt before and behind. Other leaves of the same kind are placed for her to sit upon. The strips of *Pandanus* leaf and the bundle of leaves are visible in the photograph reproduced in Plate XVI.

Thus covered with leaves the girl must sit in the hut allotted to her, with her legs doubled up beneath her and her arms folded. A piece of wood or bamboo is placed at her back for her to lean against, as she may not lie down. If she is cramped she may stretch one of her legs or one of her arms, but not both arms or both legs at the same time. To feed herself she may release one of her hands, but she must not take up the food with her fingers; a skewer of *čainyo* wood[1] is given her with which to feed herself. She may not speak nor sleep for 24 hours. Her wants are attended to by her parents and their friends, who sit near her to keep her from falling asleep.

The girl sits thus for three days. Early every morning she leaves the hut to bathe for an hour in the sea. At the end of the three days she resumes her life in the village. For a month following she must bathe in the sea every morning at dawn.

During the ceremony and for a short time afterwards the girl is not addressed or spoken of by name, but is referred to as *Alebe* or *Toto*. The meaning of the first word is not known. *Toto* is the name of the species of *Pandanus* from which women's belts are made and the leaves of which are used in the ceremony. On the occasion of this ceremony the girl is given a new name, her "flower-name," and from this time till after the birth of her first child she is never addressed or spoken of by the name which she had as a child, but only by the name given to her at this ceremony. The name given is that of a plant or tree which is in flower at the time. If the ceremony takes place when the *jili* is in flower she is called *ǰili*; if when the *jeru* is in flower she is named *ǰeru*, and so on. These names will be mentioned again later in the present chapter.

[1] This is the plant (not identified) of which the leaves were, till recent times, worn by the women of the North Andaman to cover the pudenda. In the South Andaman the leaves of the *Mimusops littoralis* are in use for this purpose, and the Northern tribes have recently given up their own custom and adopted that of the South.

[On first menstruation – Analyst]

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881 184 After this ceremony the girl is said to be *aka-ndu-kolot*. For some time afterwards she must not have her head shaved, and she must not use red paint or white clay.

841 184 I was not able to learn much about the native ideas in connection with the menstrual function. According to the account given me by one informant I gathered that the girl's first menstrual discharge is supposed to be due to sexual intercourse. The man's breath goes into her nose and this produces the discharge. It is believed that if a man were to touch a girl during this period, either during the ceremony or for some time after it, his arm would swell up.

At every recurrence of the menstrual period a woman is required to abstain from eating certain foods. According to an *Akar-Bale* informant these are, in that tribe, pork, turtle, *Paradoxurus*, honey and yams. An *Aka-Čari* informant added to the above list dugong, monitor lizard, and the fish *komar*. If she ate any of these things at such a time she would be ill. This continues throughout her life till the climacteric. A menstruating woman is not required to leave the camp, as she is in many savage communities.

From the moment of the ceremony just described the girl enters a new condition which is denoted in the *Aka-Jeru* language by the word *aka-op* (*aka-yaba* in *Aka-Bea*). This word means that the person to whom it is applied is under certain ritual restrictions, chiefly concerned with foods that may not be eaten.

881 304 In the case of a boy there is no physiological event so clearly marked as there is in that of a girl. It rests with the relatives and friends to decide when the boy is to become *aka-op*. It would seem that in the Southern tribes there is no ceremony on this occasion. Among the Northern tribes the boy is made *aka-op* by means of a ceremony that consists of making the scars on his back that are customary in these tribes[1].

When the friends and relatives of a boy decide that he is old enough to have the incisions made in his back a dance is held in the evening, and the boy is required to dance through the

[1] Unfortunately I was not able to see this ceremony performed, and my information is therefore derived from the statements of the natives.

7 [See pp. 92-94, cat. 116 — Analyst]

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whole night till he is tired. As soon as morning breaks he is made to bathe in the sea for two hours or so. He is then seated in some convenient place, not in a hut. The boy kneels down and bends forward till his elbows rest on the ground in front. One of the older men takes a pig-arrow and with the sharpened blade makes a series of cuts on the boy's back. Each cut is horizontal, and they are arranged in three vertical rows, each row consisting of from 20 to 30 cuts. When the cutting is finished the boy sits up, with a fire at his back, until the bleeding stops. During the operation and for a few hours following it the boy must remain silent. There is no treatment of the wounds to produce raised scars. The scars are much more noticeable on some men than on others.

The boy does not receive a new name on this occasion, but for a few weeks his own name is dropped and he is addressed and spoken of as *Ejido*. From this time the boy is described as being *oko-taliŋ-kolot*, this being the masculine term corresponding to *aka-ndu-kolot* for giris. From the time the cuts are made on his back the boy becomes *aka-op* and is under certain restrictions as to what foods he may eat.

When the wounds on his back are thoroughly healed similar cuts are made on his chest. I found a certain number of men who had no visible scars on their chests, but in the North Andaman every man has the three rows of scars on his back. Some of the women of the North Andaman have similar scars on their chests and a very few have them also on the back. These scars on women are not regularly made as part of the initiation ceremonies, and may be made after the woman has been married for some years.

During the period that a boy or girl is *aka-op* he or she is required by the customs of the tribe to abstain from eating certain foods. The exact rules in this matter differ from tribe to tribe. More particularly there are important differences between the coast-dwellers on the one hand and the jungle-dwellers on the other. The general principle, however, is in all cases the same. The boy (or girl) must abstain from all the chief foods of the people, and since he could not abstain from them all at one time without starving, he takes them in

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turn. It is in the order in which the different foods are forbidden that the chief differences occur.

In the *Aka-Čari* tribe of the North Andaman, where all are coast-dwellers, the boy or girl, during the first part of the *aka-op* period must not eat turtle, dugong, porpoise, *komar* (a fish), hawksbill turtle, the two kinds of edible grubs (*pata* and *čokele*), the monitor lizard, the flying fox (*Pteropus*), certain birds (perhaps all birds), certain shell-fish, the four varieties of mangrove seed (*kao*, *čimi*, *kabal* and *kaplo*), three edible roots (*mino*, *labo* and *mikulu*), and a large number of other vegetable foods, including *ŋitok*, *poroto* (if cooked, but it may be eaten raw), *bijo*, *čoroŋo*, *celet*, *buroŋ*, *bui*, *bakle*, *čo*, *čatali*, and *kata*. A certain number of fishes must be added to this list. This period is brought to a end by the turtle-eating ceremony which will be presently described. After this ceremony, turtle, which is one of the chief foods of the *Aka-Čari*, may be eaten, although certain parts of the turtle (such as the intestinal fat) are still forbidden, and the youth is also allowed to eat many of the other foods previously forbidden. On the other hand he is now required not to eat pork and a number of other foods both animal and vegetable. During this second period certain minor ceremonies take place, as for instance on the first occasion on which turtle's eggs are eaten. This period is brought to an end by the pig-eating ceremony. After that the youth is again free to eat pork. As turtle and pork are the two most important foods the ceremonies and observances in connection with these occupy a position of greater importance. After the pig-eating ceremony the youth is made free of one food after another, until some time after he is married he becomes free to partake of any of the foods available. In the case of some of the more important foods, such as honey, dugong, porpoise, the fish *komar*, etc., there is a sort of minor ceremony. The only ceremonies of any great importance in this tribe are the turtle-eating and the pig-eating ceremonies.

In the forest-dwelling communities of the North Andaman things are necessarily different. These people only eat such foods as turtle, dugong, etc. when they are visiting their friends on the coast. The three most important ceremonies amongst these people are the *ńyuri*-eating, the pig-eating and the

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honey-eating ceremonies. (The *ńyuri* is a fish that is found in the creeks.) According to my informants of the *Aka-Bo* tribe the foods that must be avoided during the first part of the abstention period are all species of fish found in inland creeks (*ńyuri*, *burto*, *bari*, *bol*, *kuato*), the monitor lizard, sucking-pig, two species of snake (*or-ćubi* and *uluku-ćubi*), a number of vegetable foods and also honey. After the *ńyuri*-eating ceremony the different kinds of fish mentioned may be eaten, but the youth or girl must then abstain from pork.

These examples, without entering into further details, will suffice to show what is the nature of the *aka-op* period. During that period the youth must abstain for a certain length of time from each one of the more important foods of his community. After a certain period of abstention he is permitted to eat the particular food. On each occasion of thus eating a food for the first time after the abstention, there are certain ritual customs that must be observed, and these customs are more important in some cases (such as pig, turtle and honey) than in others. In the case of some of the foods the only ritual observed is that the food must be given by an older man, who is himself free to eat it, that it must be eaten in silence, and that the man must be painted afterwards with clay (*odu*). In the case of pork and turtle, however, there are fairly elaborate ceremonies. The ceremonies are very similar in different parts of the islands. The description given below applies to the coast-dwellers of the North Andaman. In these communities the period of abstention from turtle and other foods begins in the case of a girl at the first menstruation, and in the case of a boy when his back is cut. It may last only one year or several years, according to circumstances, and is brought to a close by the turtle-eating ceremony. The details of this are exactly the same in the case of a girl and a boy.

When the older men decide that it is time for a boy who has been abstaining from turtle to be released from the restriction, a turtle-hunting expedition is arranged, and this is continued until a fair number of good turtle are captured. The best of these is selected, killed, and cooked. The youth is seated in a hut, either that of his parents, or one placed at his disposal by

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a friend or one specially built[1]. All his ornaments are removed. (In the case of a girl one belt of *Pandanus* leaf is retained.) He is seated on leaves of the *Hibiscus tiliaceus*, or if these be not obtainable, on those of the *Myristica longifolia*, and a bundle of the same leaves is placed under his folded arms so as to cover his belly, while another bundle is placed at his back where there is some sort of rest provided for him to lean against. He must sit still with folded arms and with legs stretched out in front, the two big toes clasping each other. He sits facing towards the open sea, and a fire is placed near him, generally just beyond his feet.

Some man is chosen to take charge of the ceremony. This may be one of the older men of the community to which the youth belongs or a distinguished visitor, if there be any such present in the camp at the time. This man selects some of the meat and fat of the cooked turtle, placing them in a wooden dish. He comes to where the youth is seated, while the friends and relatives gather round. Taking some of the fat he rubs it first over the lips and then over the whole body of the youth, while the female relatives of the latter sit near and weep loudly. When the youth's body is thoroughly covered with fat the man who is performing the ceremony takes some burnt oxide of iron, such as is used for making red paint, and rubs it over the youth's whole body, except the hair of his head. He then takes a piece of turtle fat and places it in the youth's mouth, feeding him thus with a few mouthfuls which the youth eats in silence. At this point the weeping of the relatives is taken up again with renewed vigour and then gradually comes to an end. Having fed the youth the man then proceeds to massage him. He first stands behind him and placing his hands on his shoulders presses down on them with all his weight. Then he seizes a roll of flesh on each side of the youth's belly and shakes it up and down as though to shake down what has been eaten. The arms are next massaged and the wrists and knuckles are forcibly flexed so as to make the joints "crack." The legs are similarly massaged, either with the hands or with the feet, the performer

[1] There is no secrecy about any of the proceedings; the whole ceremony is performed in the village and may be witnessed by anybody.

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(in the latter case) standing on the outstretched legs of the youth and rolling the muscles beneath his feet[1]. The joints of the toes are forcibly bent with the hand to make them "crack" if possible. A mixture of clay (*odu*) and water has been prepared in a wooden dish. The performer dips his hands into this and spatters it over the youth's body from head to foot, either by holding his hands near the youth and clapping them together, or by jerking the clay off his fingers with a flicking motion. During the whole of these proceedings the youth sits passive and silent.

The first part of the ceremony is now over. The food tray containing turtle meat and fat, cut into small pieces, is placed beside the youth and he is provided with a skewer of the wood of the *Hibiscus tiliaceus*, as he may not touch the meat with his fingers. He must sit in the same position with legs outstretched and arms folded and surrounded with *Hibiscus* leaves. To feed himself he may unloose one arm, and when his legs are cramped he may double them up beneath him. He may not lie down nor speak nor sleep for 48 hours. During this period he may eat nothing but turtle and drink nothing but water[2]. The man in charge of the ceremony sits behind him and gives him instructions as to what foods he may and what he may not eat after the ceremony. Some of the men and women take it in turn to sit beside the youth, attending to his wants and talking or singing to keep him awake.

On the morning of the third day a belt and necklace are made of pieces of the creeper called *terkobito-balo*, i.e. "centipede creeper" (*Pothos scandens*), and these are placed round the youth's waist and neck. On this day he is permitted to sleep. Either on the same day, or early the next morning, he has a bath in the sea, to remove some of the red paint and clay, and he is then decorated with red paint made of red ochre and turtle fat, and with white clay (*tol-odu*). The red paint is put on in stripes over his body, and his ears are daubed with it. The white clay

[1] In the Southern tribes large stones are placed on the youth's thighs.

[2] In these days the natives are very fond of tea, which they obtain from the Andamanese Homes; during the ceremony described above the youth or girl is not permitted to drink tea.

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881 301 is put on in a zig-zag pattern to be described later, the lines of white clay alternating with those of red paint. This decoration is done by female relatives.

881 535 Early on the morning of the fourth day, soon after daybreak, the whole village is astir. One of the older men takes his stand by the sounding-board used for marking time at dances, and the women sit down near him. The youth comes out from his hut and stands in the middle of the dancing ground, and five or six men stand round him in a circle, each of them facing towards the youth. Each of the men, including the youth, holds in each hand a bundle of twigs of the *Hibiscus tiliaceus* or, if such be not obtainable, of the *Myristica longifolia*. The man at the sounding-board sings a song, beating time with his foot, in the usual way, on the sounding-board, and at the chorus the women join in and mark the time by clapping their hands on their thighs. The song may be on any subject and is selected by the singer from his own repertory. A song referring to turtle-hunting is preferred. During the first song the dancers stand at their positions on the dancing ground, lifting up their leaf bundles at short intervals and bringing them down against their knees. The singer then commences a new song or repeats the former one, and when the song comes to an end the youth and those with him begin their dance. Each dancer flexes his hips so that his back is nearly horizontal. He raises his hands to the back of his neck so that the two bundles of leaves in his hands rest on his back. With knees flexed he leaps from the ground with both feet, keeping time to the beating of the sounding-board, which is about 144 beats to the minute. At the end of every eight jumps or so, the dancer brings his hands forwards, downwards and backwards, giving a vigorous sweep with the bundles of leaves, which scrape the ground at each side of his feet, and then brings back the bundles to their former position. They dance thus for 15 or 30 seconds and then pause to rest. The dance is repeated several times, until the youth is tired out. As the dance is extremely fatiguing this does not take long[1].

[1] I believe that the dance is intended to imitate the movement of a turtle as it swims through the water.

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The youth then returns to his hut and resumes his former position. He may now, if he wishes, talk to his friends and he may sleep. He must retain the bundles of *Hibiscus* leaves and the necklace and belt of *Pothos* leaves. The dance is sometimes repeated in the afternoon. It is in any case repeated on each of the two days following, and after that the youth resumes his ordinary life. For a week or two he may not touch a bow and arrow. The *Pothos* leaves are worn till they are faded and are then discarded. The paint on the body wears off and is not renewed, but his ears are kept painted with red paint. For some weeks the youth is supposed to be in an abnormal condition and is carefully watched by his friends.

At the turtle-eating ceremony a new name is given to the youth. This name, however, never seems to be used afterwards either in speaking of or to the person to whom it belongs. A youth of the *Aka-J̌eru* tribe whose birth name was *Čop* (from a species of tree) and whose nick-name or second name was *Komar* (from a species of fish) had two new names given to him on the occasion of the turtle-eating ceremony, *Čokbi-čiro* (meaning turtle-liver) and *Pilečar* (high-tide). Neither of these names was ever used in addressing him.

The turtle-eating ceremony is called in the Northern tribes either *Čokbi-ǰo*, *Čokbi-kimil*, or *Kimil-ǰo*. The word *čokbi* means "turtle," and *ǰo* means "eating." The word *kimil* is more difficult to translate. With the prefix *ot-* or *er-* it means "hot" as in *T'ot-kimil-bom*, "I am hot." From the time of the commencement of the ceremony the youth or girl is said to be in a condition denoted by the word *aka-kimil*. During this time, i.e. during the ceremony and for some months afterwards, he or she is not addressed or spoken of by name but is referred to as "*Kimil*," the word being thus used as a term of address or a substitute for the personal name. A person who is in this condition is described as *aka-kimil-kolọt*. (Before the ceremony the youth is *oko-taliŋ-kolọt* and the girl is *aka-ndu-kolọt*.) In the *Aka-Bea* tribe the turtle-eating ceremony is called *Yadi-gumul* or *Gumul-leke*, *yadi* being the word for "turtle" in that language, and *leke* being the equivalent of the *ǰo* of *Aka-J̌eru*, that is "eating." A youth or girl who is passing or has recently

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881 passed through the ceremony is said to be *aka-gumul*, and is addressed and spoken of, not by name, but by the term *Guma*[1].

881 262 In the coast-dwelling communities of the Northern tribes, the youth or girl who has passed through the turtle-eating ceremony is thereafter free to eat turtle flesh (though not the liver nor the intestinal fat of the turtle) and a certain number of the other foods that were previously forbidden. On the other hand, he or she is now forbidden to eat pork and a number of other foods which previously were permitted. The period during which these new prohibitions are in force may last for a few months or for a year or even longer. It is, however, generally shorter than the first period of abstention from turtle. It is brought to an end by a pig-eating ceremony which is similar in many ways to the turtle-eating ceremony already described. A boar must be killed if the initiate be a youth, or a sow if it be a girl who is to go through the ceremony. The youth is seated in a hut on leaves of the *čelmo* (*Tetranthera*) and the carcase of the boar is brought and pressed upon the youth's shoulders and back by one of the men. The girl is not treated in this way. The pork is then cooked and the youth is first anointed and then fed with some of the fat. He is then rubbed with red ochre, massaged and splashed with clay, just as in the turtle-eating ceremony. He must sit silent with arms crossed, and covered with *Tetranthera* leaves for a day and a night. During this time he may only eat pork, and must not touch his food with his hands but must use a skewer of *Tetranthera* wood. On the following day he is decorated with white clay (*tol-odu*) and with red paint, and takes part in a dance. The dance is almost exactly the same as the dance on the occasion of the turtle-eating ceremony, the only differences being that instead of *Hibiscus* leaves those of the *Tetranthera* are used, and that the dancer does not leap with both feet from the ground, but raises one foot and stamps with it.

In the Northern tribes these are the two most important ceremonies. After the pig-eating ceremony the youth is free to eat pork and a certain number of previously forbidden foods.

[1] The meaning of the word *kimil* (or *gumul*) will be discussed in a later chapter.

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There remain a considerable number of foods, however, which he is still forbidden. In connection with each of these there is some sort of minor ceremony. The older men, when occasion arises, offer the youth or girl some of the forbidden food, first rubbing it over his or her mouth. The food is then eaten in silence. I only saw one such ceremony, when a man ate for the first time after his abstention the intestinal fat of the turtle. The man was about 24 years of age and had long since been through the chief ceremonies, and was married. The ceremony is perhaps more elaborate in the case of the similar first eating of honey, dugong and a few other foods. One after another of the food prohibitions is removed until the man or woman is free to eat anything. There is no regular order in which this takes place, as in each case it is determined by chance circumstances. The only order that is rigorously observed is that of the two chief ceremonies connected with pork and turtle. These two are the principal meat foods of the coast-dwellers.

The above description applies strictly only to the coast-dwellers of the North Andaman (*Aka-Čari*, *Aka-Jeru* and *Aka-Kora*). I was not able to see any ceremonies performed by the jungle-dwellers. The old men of the *Aka-Bo* tribe told me that the period of abstention begins when a boy or girl is forbidden to eat the fish *ńyuri* (*Plotosus sp.* probably *P. arab*), and a certain number of other foods, not including pork. The first ceremony is the eating of the *ńyuri*. The boy or girl is seated on leaves (*kibir* or *tare* or *ra-čiro*) and bundles of these are placed in his belt before and behind. A belt of *Pandanus* leaf is worn by the boys at this ceremony as well as by the girls. The initiate sits with his legs doubled up beneath him, and is fed with the fish. The ceremony lasts only one day. There is no special dance, but the initiate joins in an ordinary dance at the end of the ceremony, being decorated for this purpose with white clay. After this ceremony the youth must abstain from pork and other foods. The pig-eating ceremony, which closes this period of abstention, lasts altogether for three or four days, the initiate remaining awake for one night. The leaves used are the same as those of the first (fish-eating) ceremony. The third important ceremony of these communities is the

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honey-eating. The initiate sits cross-legged and honey is rubbed over his or her shoulders and chest, and he or she is fed with it.

I was told by one of my informants that in the *Aka-Kede* tribe the pig-eating ceremony precedes the turtle-eating, but I could not obtain reliable information about the ceremonies of this tribe.

My informants of the *Akar-Bale* tribe, which consists of coast-dwelling communities only, told me that the period of abstention begins with turtle, honey, turtle's eggs, yams, and a number of fruits and seeds. This period lasts for three or four years. Then comes the turtle-eating ceremony, which is said to be similar in its details to that already described from the North Andaman. After this ceremony the initiate may not eat dugong, porpoise and a considerable number of fishes (including *Tetrodon sp.*, *Plotosus sp.*, *Anguilla bengalensis*, *Trygon bleekari*, *T. siphen*, *Urogymnus asperrimus*, *Carcharias gangeticus*, etc.). He must also abstain from turtle's eggs, pig, yams, honey, and certain fruits (e.g. *Artocarpus chaplasha*, *Mimusops littoralis*, *Baccaurea sapida*, etc.). A few months after the turtle-eating ceremony there is a minor ceremony of eating turtle's eggs, the eggs being eaten in silence and the meal followed by a dance. After another period follows the ceremony of eating pig's kidney-fat. Then, as opportunity occurs, the initiate eats dugong, honey and the other forbidden foods, one after another. The ceremony in each case is not elaborate except in connection with such important foods as dugong and honey.

Mr E. H. Man has given a description of the ceremonies of the *Aka-Bea* tribe, which shows that they are essentially similar to those of the North. He does not distinguish between the ceremonies of the *aryoto* (coast-dwellers) and those of the *eremtaga* (jungle-dwellers). He states that the fasting period (*aka-yaba*) is divided into three parts, the first ending with the *yadi-* (turtle) *gumul*, the second with the *aja-* (honey) *gumul*, and the third with the *reg-jiri-* (kidney-fat of pig) *gumul*.

As I was not able to witness the honey-eating ceremony, I venture to reproduce below the description that Mr Man gives of this ceremony as it is conducted in the *Aka-Bea* tribe.

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"When the honey fast is to be broken a quantity of honey-combs, according to the number assembled, are on the appointed day procured: the *aka-yab* being placed in the midst of the group, the chief or other elder goes to him with a large honey-comb wrapped in leaves; after helping the novice to a large mouthful, which he does by means of a bamboo or iron knife, he presents the remainder to him, and then leaves him to devour it in silence: this he does, not, however, by the ordinary method, for it is an essential part of the ceremony that he should not use his fingers to break off pieces, but eat it bear-fashion, by holding the comb up to his mouth and attacking it with his teeth and lips. After satisfying his present requirements, he wraps what is left of the comb in leaves for later consumption. The chief then takes another comb and anoints the youth by squeezing it over his head, rubbing the honey well into his body as it trickles down. The proceedings at this stage are interrupted by a bath, in order to remove all traces of the honey, which would otherwise be a source of considerable inconvenience by attracting ants. Beyond the observance of silence, and continued abstention from *reg-jiri* (pig's kidney-fat), the youth is under no special restrictions, being able to eat, drink and sleep as much as he pleases. Early the following morning the lad decorates himself with leaves of a species of *Alpinia*, called *jini*[1], and then, in the presence of his friends, goes into the sea (or, if he be an *eremtaga*, into a creek) up to his waist, where, locking his thumbs together, he splashes as much water as possible over himself and the by-standers, occasionally ducking his head under the surface as well. This is considered a safeguard or charm against *snakes*, and the onlookers cry "*oto-pedike, kinig wara-jobo lotike*" (Go and splash yourself, or *Wara-jobo*[2] will get inside you), for they imagine that unless they go through this splashing performance, this snake will by some means enter their stomachs and so cause death. The only difference between the sexes with respect to the *aja-gumul* is that with females it cannot take place until

[1] This plant is selected because it is associated with honey-gathering; its bitter sap, being extremely obnoxious to bees, is smeared over their persons when taking a comb, and enables them to escape scot free with their prize. (Note by Mr Man.)

[2] This is believed to be the *Ophiophagus elaps*. (Note by Mr Man.)

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881 262 after the birth of the first child; they are also required to abstain from honey during each subsequent pregnancy; and in their case, too, a chief or elder (preferably a relative) officiates, and not a woman[1]."

753 761 We may now proceed to the ritual customs connected with death and burial. In all the Great Andaman tribes disease and death are supposed to be due to the spirits of the jungle and the sea. The subject will be dealt with in the next chapter.

764 On the occurrence of a death the news quickly spreads through the camp, and all the women collect round the body and, sitting down, weep loudly until they are exhausted. The women then retire and the men come and weep over the corpse. All the adult members of the community then proceed to cover themselves with a wash of common clay smeared evenly over their bodies and limbs. This clay is of the kind called *odu* in *Aka-Jeru* and *og* in *Aka-Bea*. The nearer relatives and more intimate friends of the deceased also plaster some of the same clay on their heads.

Some of the women, generally, but not necessarily, relatives, remove any ornaments the dead person may have been wearing, shave the head and decorate the body. This decoration consists of lines of fine pattern in white clay alternating with bands of red paint. A band of red paint is placed across the upper lip passing from ear to ear and the ears themselves are smeared with the pigment. The greater the estimation in which the deceased person is held the greater is the care lavished upon this the last decoration.

Thus decorated the body is prepared for burial. The legs and arms are flexed so that the knees come up under the chin and the fists rest against the cheeks. A *Cyrena* shell (or sometimes in these days a steel knife) is placed in the closed hand. A sleeping mat is wrapped round the body, and over this a number of the large palm leaves known as *kobo* (*Aka-Jeru*) are arranged and the whole is made into a bundle and tied up with rope. Before the ropes are all tied the relatives of the dead person take their last farevell by gently blowing on the face of the corpse.

[1] Man, *op. cit.* p. 133.

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may be seen that in the first three instances of the rite of weeping (those in which the action is reciprocal) we have conditions in which social relations that have been interrupted are about to be renewed, and the rite serves as a ceremony of aggregation.

Let us now consider the second variety of the rite, and first of all its meaning as part of the ceremony of marriage. By marriage the social bonds that have to that time united the bride and bridegroom to their respective relatives, particularly their female relatives such as mother, mother's sister, father's sister and adopted mother, are modified. The unmarried youth or girl is in a position of dependence upon his or her older relatives, and by the marriage this dependence is partly abolished. Whereas the principal duties of the bride were formerly those towards her mother and older female relatives, henceforth her chief duties in life will be towards her husband. The position of the bridegroom is similar, and it must be noted that his social relations with his male relatives are less affected by his marriage than those with his female relatives. Yet, though the ties that have bound the bride and bridegroom to their relatives are about to be modified or partially destroyed by the new ties of marriage with its new duties and rights they will still continue to exist in a weakened and changed condition. The rite of weeping is the expression of this. It serves to make real (by feeling), in those taking part in it, the presence of the social ties that are being modified.

When the mother of the bride or bridegroom weeps at a marriage she feels that her son or daughter is being taken from her care. She has the sorrow of a partial separation and she consoles herself by expressing in the rite her continued feeling of tenderness and affection towards him in the new condition that he is entering upon. For her the chief result of the rite is to make her feel that her child is still an object of her affection, still bound to her by close ties, in spite of the fact that he or she is being taken from her care.

Exactly the same explanation holds with regard to the weeping at the initiation ceremonies. By these ceremonies the youth (or girl) is gradually withdrawn from a condition of dependence on his mother and older female relatives and is made an independent

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member of the community. The initiation is a long process that is only completed by marriage. At every stage of the lengthy ceremonies therefore, the social ties that unite the initiate to these relatives are modified or weakened, and the rite of weeping is the means by which the significance of the change is impressed upon those taking part in it. For the mother the weeping expresses her resignation at her necessary loss, and aets as a consolation by making her feel that her son is still hers, though now being withdrawn from her care. For the boy the rite has a different meaning. He realises that he is no longer merely a child, dependent upon his mother, but is now entering upon manhood. His former feelings towards his mother must be modified. That he is being separated from her is, for him, the most important aspect of the matter, and therefore while she weeps he must give no sign of tenderness in return but must sit passive and silent. So also in the marriage ceremony, the rite serves to impress upon the young man and woman that they are, by reason of the new ties that they are forming with one another, severing their ties with their families.

When a person dies the social bonds that unite him to the survivors are profoundly modified. They are not in an instant utterly destroyed, as we shall see better when we deal with the funeral and mourning customs, for the friends and relatives still feel towards the dead person that affection in which they held him when alive, and this has now become a source of deep grief. It is this affection still binding them to him that they express in the rite of weeping over the corpse. Here rite and natural expression of emotion coincide, but it must be noted that the weeping is obligatory, a matter of duty. In this instance, then, the rite is similar to that at marriage and initiation. The man is by death cut off from the society to which he belonged, and from association with his friends, but the latter still feel towards him that attachment that bound them together while he lived, and it is this attachment that they express when they embrace the lifeless corpse and weep over it.

There remains only one more instance of the rite to be considered. When the period of mourning for a dead person is over and the bones are recovered the modification in the relations

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We have not yet completed the study of the Andamanese beliefs about food. To do so we must examine the initiation ceremonies. I hope to show that these ceremonies are the means by which the society powerfully impresses upon the initiate the sense of the social value of food, and keeps the same sense alive in the minds of the spectators of the ceremony.

The position in the social life occupied by a child is different from that of an adult; the child is dependent upon and closely united to his parents, and is not an independent member of the community. To this difference in social position there corresponds a difference in the attitude of a person towards a child and towards an adult, and also a difference in the attitude of a child and that of an adult towards the society. As the child grows up a change takes place in his position in the social life, and this must be accompanied by a change in the emotional dispositions of the child himself in so far as these regulate his attitude towards the society, and by a change in the attitude towards the child of the other members of the group. The initiation ceremonies are the means by which these changes are brought about, and by which, therefore, the child is made an independent member of the society.

The ceremonies have two aspects according as we regard them from the point of view of the society or from that of the initiate. For the society they are to be described as the recognition of the change of status of the initiate, just as the marriage ceremony is the social recognition of the change of status by marriage. For the initiate they constitute a sort of moral or social education.

To fit a child for his proper place in the community he needs to be educated. Part of the process consists of learning how to hunt, how to make bows and arrows, and so on. This necessary knowledge he acquires gradually by imitation of his elders, in which he is guided and encouraged by them. But in addition to this he has to acquire those sentiments or emotional dispositions which regulate the conduct of members of the society and constitute morality. Part of this education in morality, this education of the sentiments, takes place gradually as the child grows up, less by any actual instruction than by processes of imitation and suggestion; but in this connection an extremely important part is played by the initiation ceremonies. That the long series of

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abstentions and ceremonies does have a very powerful emotional effect on the youth or girl may be readily observed by an eye-witness; that their permanent effect is to create in his or her mind a number of sentiments that previously existed not at all or only in an undeveloped condition will be shown in the course of the present argument.

Since in the life of the Andamans by far the most important social activity is the getting of food, and it is in connection with food that the social sentiments are most frequently called into action, it is therefore appropriate that it should be through his relation to food that the child should be taught his relation to the society, and thus have those sentiments implanted in him or brought to the necessary degree of strength. During his infancy the child is almost entirely unrestrained and acts with great comparative freedom. He does not realise, in any adequate manner, that the food with which he is freely provided (for children are the last to suffer hunger) is only obtained by skill and effort, nor does he realise that he will one day be required to labour to supply food for others. There follows a period of restraint, during which the growing boy or girl has to give up eating certain relished foods, and has to pass through a number of ceremonies, some of them painful, and all solemn and awe-inspiring. These restraints on the action of the individual are not imposed by one person, but by the whole society backed by the whole force of tradition. Through a series of years, just at what is, for physiological reasons, the most impressionable age, the individual learns to subordinate his own desires to the requirements of the society or of custom, as explained to him by his elders. He is thus impressed, in a forcible manner, with the importance of the moral law, and at the same time he is impressed with a sense of the social value of food. The ceremonies thus afford a moral education adapted to the requirements of life as it is lived in the Andamans. It would need a very lengthy analysis to show all the effects of the ceremonies on the emotional life of those who undergo them, and for the purpose of this chapter such an analysis is unnecessary. It will suffice merely to mention a few of the more important. As stated above, the ceremonies teach the boy or girl self-control or self-restraint, and they do so in relation to one of the two

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fundamental human instincts,—hunger. The cutting of the boy's back in the North Andaman gives a still sharper lesson in self-control in the endurance of pain. Secondly the ceremonies teach the initiate, for the first time in life, to view life and its duties and obligations seriously. The various ceremonies are all very solemn affairs for the initiate. Again, the growing boy or girl is made to feel very strongly the importance of conforming to the customs of the community to which he belongs, thus having implanted in his mind what is certainly one of the most powerful of the sentiments that regulate conduct in the Andamans. In this connection there may also be mentioned the respect for elders which is a most important element in the regulation of social life in all savage communities, and which is strongly impressed on the initiate throughout the ceremonies. And yet again, the ceremonies awaken and develop in the adolescent that fear of unseen danger which, as we shall see later, has a very important place in the mental life of the Andamanese and an important function in their moral life. Finally, the whole series of abstentions and ceremonies serves to develop in the mind of every new member of the society that sense of the social value of foods with which our argument has been concerned, which may be briefly described as being a realisation that food is a possession of the society, that not only the power to obtain food, but also the power to use it without danger is something that the individual owes to the society, and that the bestowal upon him of this power involves the acceptance on his part of corresponding obligations.

We may say, to look at the matter under another aspect, that the initiation ceremonies teach the youth or girl to realise what is implied in being a member of the society by putting him or her during the period of adolescence in an exceptional position, and, as it were, outside the society. The youth is no longer a child and may not act as a child; but he is not yet an adult and may not act as adults do. He feels himself cut off, as it were, from the ordinary life of the group, having as yet no share in it. As a child he was not yet aware of what it means to be a member of a society, but now, by means of the ceremonies, his attention is directed to the society and its life, by his being placed in a position of isolation outside it. He begins to look forward to the

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time when he will take his proper place as an adult, and his share in the common life of the camp. At each step of the ceremonies he feels that he is brought a little closer, until at last he can feel himself a man amongst men. Thus he is brought to a consciousness of all that it must mean to him to be a member of the community; he is taught the significance and value of social communion.

Since the greater part of social life is the getting and eating of food, to place a person outside the social life would be to forbid him from partaking of the food that is obtained by the society and consumed by it. This, however, would result in his starvation. The same object is attained, however, by making the initiate abstain for a period from a number of the most important and relished foods, and then making him abstain for a second period from the others. This is not the only way however in which the initiate is cut off from social communion. A youth or girl who is *aka-op* is not permitted to dance, nor to be decorated with red paint and white clay. It is in the dance that the community expresses most completely its own unity. Being forbidden to join in the dance is therefore to be excluded from the common life. Painting the body with red paint and white clay is, as we have seen, a way of expressing that the individual is aware of his own position as a member of the group having the approval and good-will of his fellows. Thus these other prohibitions reinforce and supplement the prohibition against eating certain foods during the period of adolescence, and the consideration of them serves to confirm the interpretation just given. I believe that the *aka-op* is also forbidden to use *odu* clay as a sign of mourning, and if this be so it is of considerable significance, as will be evident after we have considered the meaning of this use of clay. Unfortunately I am not quite sure of the facts, and so the point must be left.

To discuss in detail all the features of these ceremonies would take much space. I propose therefore to take as typical of the others the ceremony of turtle-eating and to explain its various features. When this ceremony is performed the youth has been compelled for many months to abstain from eating turtle, and has thus learnt to realise the social value of food in general and

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of turtle in particular. He is now to have the same lesson impressed upon him in a different way. The previous part of his education has been the continuous action over a long period of a not very powerful emotion. He has had to sit quietly while others regaled themselves with turtle meat and to be satisfied with less tasty food. At times he has probably gone hungry because the only food in camp was of kinds that were forbidden to him. The ceremony he is now to go through acts by producing in the space of a few days a very intense emotional experience. We have seen that the sense of the social value of food takes the form of a belief that food is dangerous to eat, and that its dangers may only be avoided by ritual precautions. At the turtle-eating ceremony the initiate is eating turtle for the first time as an adult, and is therefore exposed to great danger which makes it necessary to guard him with every possible ritual precaution. This, at any rate, is what the initiate himself is made to feel, and it is through this that the ceremony has its emotional effects. The initiate is not, of course, himself possessed by a simple feeling of fear, though the emotional state of his mind is built up on the basis of the fear instinct. What he is about to do is a matter of great danger to himself, but at the same time the precautions that are to be taken are such as entirely to remedy that danger if they are properly observed. Thus what he experiences is an intense feeling of the importance and solemnity of the ritual in which he is to take part.

All the details of the ceremony are readily to be explained as so many different ways of warding off the danger that threatens the initiate. He is seated on leaves of the *Hibiscus tiliaceus*, which, as we have seen, possess special efficacy against dangers connected with turtle. Leaves of the same kind are placed under his arms so as to cover his belly, where, we may suppose, the danger is most intense. A fire is placed near him, between him and the open sea. It has already been shown that fire is believed to afford protection against dangers of this sort, and the appropriateness of the position is due to the fact that in this instance it is from the sea and the things of the sea that danger is to be feared. He may not feed himself with his fingers, but must use a skewer of *Hibiscus* wood. This is clearly only one more pre-

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caution against danger, though the ideas connected with it are somewhat obscure. At the beginning of the ceremony the initiate is fed with turtle by a man who conducts the ceremony and who represents the society, that latter fact being sometimes symbolised by his wearing round his shoulders a bark sling such as is used for carrying children. This means, I think, that it is the society that "gives" the food to the initiate, giving him at the same time the power to use it with safety. The older man hands on to the younger the right and the power to eat which he himself possesses. He makes himself responsible, as it were, for the action of the initiate. At one stage of the performance the initiate is rubbed over with red ochre. This is to be understood by recalling that red ochre and red paint are regarded by the natives as valuable remedies against sickness and against the spirits that cause sickness. Immediately afterwards the body of the initiate is spattered with *odu* clay. The use of this clay after eating food was explained as a method of avoiding the dangers supposed to result from eating such foods as turtle. It is clear that exactly the same explanation will apply to its use in the initiation ceremonies. I have not found a satisfactory explanation of the peculiar manner in which it is applied. That the youth is not allowed to sleep for the first two days of the ceremony will be explained later in the chapter, when it will be shown that sleep itself is regarded as a condition of danger.

A notable incident is that at the beginning of the ceremony the female relatives of the initiate are required by custom to come and weep over him. An explanation of this has already been given, but may well be repeated. At each stage of the initiation ceremonies the initiate is withdrawn from the position of dependence that the child necessarily occupies, and as children are, for the most part, under the care of their elder female relatives, the ceremonies result in a partial destruction of those bonds that unite the initiate to his mother or his foster-mother and her sisters or to his own elder sisters. The weeping of the female relatives is as it were a reaction against this lessening of solidarity. It is evident why the rite is necessarily one-sided. The female relatives need to feel that they are not being entirely cut off from the initiate, and so they affirm their attachment to him by weeping

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over him. On the other hand the important thing for the initiate himself is to feel that the bonds that united him as a child to the women who cared for him are now severed or modified ; he must no longer depend on them but must learn to depend on himself; hence it is necessary that he should not weep but should remain passive and as it were indifferent under the tears that are shed over him.

The last part of the ceremony consists of a dance, in which the youth dances in the middle surrounded by a ring of men. As we have seen that dancing is in general an affirmation of solidarity between those taking part, and an expression of the unity of the society, we may well regard this dance as an affirmation of the solidarity that now exists between the youth and the other dancers, who are representatives of the society of adults. There is something more in the dance than this however. I pointed out that one of the results of taking part in a dance is to produce in the individual an experience of increased personal force, and it is obvious that this is a very appropriate feeling for the initiate who, by his long abstention from turtle, and by the ceremony he has just been through, has acquired an increase of personal force, an addition to his social personality. Before the dance the initiate is decorated with white clay (the snake pattern) and red paint. I have explained this particular method of painting the body as being a means of expressing and so producing or reinforcing the feeling of elation accompanying the recognition by an individual of his own social value, of the fact that he has deserved and obtained the good-will and regard of his fellows. The youth who has been through the period of restraint and the ordeal of the ceremony has done his duty and has earned the approbation of his friends. It is for this reason that he alone of the dancers is decorated with the painting that serves to express or arouse the elation or self-satisfaction that it is right for him to feel. The painting is the mark of the increase in social value of the initiate brought about by the turtle-eating ceremony.

There is one aspect of the dance that may be mentioned as being of importance, and which will be referred to again later, namely that the movements seem to be in a way imitative of the

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movements of turtle in the water. The leaves used in the dance are those that possess magical efficacy against dangers from turtle.

I have not been able to satisfy myself as to the meaning of the belt and necklace of *Pothos scandens* worn by the initiate in the dance and for some days afterwards. It is probable that the clue to this lies in the resemblance of the leaves to the shape of a phallus, but I have no clear evidence that this is the real explanation, and therefore offer it as merely a surmise.

If the natives be asked the reason for these ceremonies they often reply that their purpose is to make the youth or girl grow up strong. By this word "strong" they seem to mean in the first instance able-bodied, skilful (in hunting, etc.) and above all able to avoid or resist disease. They believe that anyone who did not pass through the ceremonies would be certain to die at an early age, and they recall the instance of one young man who refused to submit to the ceremonies who died before reaching maturity. Now, since the danger that they fear in eating food is said to be sickness, we may translate their statement into other terms by saying that the purpose of the initiation ceremonies is to endow the initiate with the power to eat the dangerous foods with comparative safety.

It would seem that an infant, being completely dependent upon his parents, is protected by that dependence from the danger of foods, but the adult is only able to make use of food with safety by reason of the possession within himself of a special power with which it is the purpose of the initiation ceremonies to endow him. Each kind of food has its own kind of dangerous power, and therefore every individual needs to be endowed with the special power to avoid each kind of danger. For this reason there is a separate ceremony for each of the important kinds of food. Thus we see very clearly that, for the Andamanese, food, or the power to make use of food without danger, is essentially a possession of the society, and one function of the initiation ceremonies is to keep alive this sentiment.

But there is a further meaning, I think, lying behind the statement that the initiation ceremonies endow the youth or girl with strength. I have already argued that all the most

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important social sentiments are closely associated with the sense of the social value of food, and although the initiation ceremonies are chiefly concerned with food, that is only because that is the easiest way by which to get at the main system of social sentiments. So that behind the special meaning of the ceremonies with relation to food we must look for a more general meaning in relation to the social life in general. This may be conveniently stated by saying that the purpose of the ceremonies is to endow the individual with a social personality. By the social personality of a person I mean the sum of those qualities by which he is able to affect the society. It is, in other words, what gives him his social value. The social personality depends in the first place on the social status of the individual. A young child seems to be regarded as having no social personality. He is not an independent member of the society, and therefore has no immediate social value, no direct effect on the general social life. At any rate the social personality of a child is something very different from that of an adult. So, since the initiation ceremonies provide the passage from childhood to manhood or womanhood we may describe them as the means by which the society endows the child with an adult social personality.

But the social personality of an individual also depends on his personal qualities, his strength and intelligence, his skill as a hunter, and on his moral qualities, whether he is mean or generous, quarrelsome or good-tempered, and so on, for all these things help to determine the place he occupies in the social life and the effects he has upon it. Above all, the social personality depends upon the development in the individual of those sentiments by which the social life is regulated and by which the social cohesion is preserved. Now we have seen that the initiation ceremonies do serve to develop these sentiments in the mind of the initiate, and we may therefore say that in this respect also it is true that the initiation ceremonies serve to develop in the child the social personality of an adult.

The consideration of the initiation ceremonies has served to confirm the hypothesis that the Andamanese customs relating to food are all of them different modes of expressing the social value of foods. We have now to consider the nature of the

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dangers that are supposed to accrue from the eating of food if due precautions be not taken. One statement of the natives is that the danger they fear is sickness. Now sickness of all kinds is believed by the Andamanese to be caused by certain supernatural beings called *Lau* or *Ćauga*,—the spirits of the dead; and further, we have seen that the danger connected with food is sometimes said to be the danger of an attack by the spirits. So that it is evident that to understand the meaning of the fear of foods it is first of all necessary to understand the notions they have about the spirits, and to do this we shall have to consider the various customs relating to death and burial.

For the society a death is the loss of one of its members, one of its constituent parts. A person occupies a definite position in society, has a certain share in the social life, is one of the supports of the network of social relations. His death constitutes a partial destruction of the social cohesion, the normal social life is disorganised, the social equilibrium is disturbed. After the death the society has to organise itself anew and reach a new condition of equilibrium. In reference to the small community of the Andamans we may translate the above statement into terms of personal feeling by saying that the death removes a person who was the object of feelings of affection and attachment on the part of others and is thus a direct offence against those sentiments in the survivors.

Though the dead man has ceased to exist as a member of the society, it is clear that he has by no means ceased to influence the society. On the contrary he has become the source of intense painful emotions. Where the affection that was felt towards him was previously a source of pleasure it now becomes a source of pain. Defining the "social personality" of an individual as being the sum of characteristics by which he has an effect upon the social life and therefore on the social sentiments of others, we may say that by death the social personality is not annihilated but undergoes a profound change, so that from being an object of pleasurable states of the social sentiments it becomes an object of painful states. This is expressed by the Andamanese by saying that by death a man or woman becomes a *Lau*.

The burial customs of the Andaman Islanders, however, are

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occasions. A consideration of the different instances will show, I think, that the name is always avoided whenever the owner is for any reason prevented from taking his or her usual place in the life of the society. At such times the social personality is as it were suppressed, and the name which represents it is therefore also suppressed. 182X 551

From the moment of her first menstruation to the date of her marriage, or more strictly to the date of her first parturition, the birth-name of a woman is dropped from use and she is called by her flower-name. A woman only attains her complete social personality as a mother. As a child she has not the power to become a mother. She acquires that power at her first menstruation and therefore from that time until this new virtue is actively exercised she is in a position in which one of her virtues, one of the qualities making up her social personality, is in abeyance. Therefore her name (her birth-name) is not used and she is given a temporary name in its place, a flower-name. She is, as it were, in blossom, and only when her body ripens to its fruit is she a complete woman. 182X 551 881

At certain stages of the initiation ceremonies the name of a youth or of a girl (the flower-name in this instance) is avoided for a certain period. Such occasions are during, and for some time after, any of the more important ceremonies, such as the cutting of the boy's back, the puberty ceremony of the girl, the turtle-eating and pig-eating ceremonies. After a boy's back is cut he is addressed and spoken of for some time as *Ejido*, his own name not being spoken. Similarly during and after the turtle-eating or the pig-eating ceremony he is addressed and spoken of by the name *Kimil*. The explanation of these customs is that at these times the initiate is in an abnormal position by reason of the ceremony that has taken place, and is not permitted to take an ordinary part in social life. After the initiation ceremony, for example, the youth is not permitted to handle a bow for some weeks (the bow being the typical masculine implement).

The names of a newly-married couple are avoided for a few days after their marriage. Marriage produces an important change in the social personality, and this change is expressed in the marriage ceremony, but all such changes take time, and it is some days at 182X 551 585

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X 182 551 585 least before the married couple can be expected to have settled down in their new positions. For these days, therefore, their names are not used. The same sort of explanation will hold for the custom of dropping the names of a father and mother before and after the birth of a child, particularly the first born.

X 182 551 ● 881 At the turtle-eating ceremony of the North Andaman coast-dwellers the youth is given a new name. It is possible that a girl is also given a new name at this time, and that another name is also given to the youth at the pig-eating ceremony, but on these points I neglected to make sufficient enquiry. The name given at the turtle-eating ceremony is never used and is not likely to be known except to those who were present at the ceremony, and therefore serves no such purpose as the flower-name of the girl. The giving of the name is simply the mark of the change of social personality brought about by the ceremony. The youth receives an addition to his personality and therefore receives an additional name. It is significant that all the names given at this ceremony have reference to the sea and to things of the sea, particularly to turtle, such as *Ćokbi-ćiro*, turtle-liver, *Ćokbi-tci*, turtle-blood, etc.

X 182 551 765 During the period of mourning, when, as we have seen, the mourner is withdrawn from the ordinary life of the society, his name is not used, showing that during this period his social personality is in a state of partial suppression. After the mourning period is over the mourner, when he resumes his social personality, resumes at the same time his name.

Now death is the most fundamental modification of the social personality that is possible and therefore the name of a person recently dead is strictly avoided. Death, however, does not destroy the social personality utterly and for ever, but produces in it a profound change, which begins at the death itself and is only completed at the end of and by means of the customs of mourning. After the mourning is over the virtues of the dead man affect the survivors through memory, and his bones form a precious possession of the community, thus constituting for him a new social value, a new personality. During the period of change, while the personality does not exist in the same form as before the death, but does not yet exist in the form in which

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537 Andamanese is that they have no proper names, whereas their system of naming is, on the contrary, somewhat elaborate, and commences even prior to the child's birth.

2. When there is reason to expect an increase to the family,[1] the parents decide what name the child shall bear; as a compliment they not unfrequently select one which is borne by a relative, friend, or chief; and, since all their proper names[2] are common to both sexes,[3] no difficulty arises on this score.

551 •881 3. In illustration of this let us suppose the name chosen in advance to be *.dô'ra*; should the infant prove to be a boy he is called *.dô'ra-ô'ta-*, or, if a girl, *.dô'ra-ká'ta-*. These terms (*ô'ta-* and *ká'ta-*[4]) are used only during the first two or three years, after which, until the period of puberty, the lad would be addressed as *.dô'ra-dâ'la-*, and the girl as *.dô'ra-pō'ilola* until she arrived at womanhood, when she is said to be *ūn-lâ'wi-* or *â'kà-lâ'wi-*, and receives a "flower" name[5] as a prefix to her proper or birth name. By this method they are apparently able to determine when their young women become marriageable. There are eighteen prescribed trees[6] which blossom in succession, and the "flower" name bestowed in each case is taken from the one which is in season when the girl attains maturity; if, for example, this should be about the end of August, when the *châ'langa-* (*Pterocarpus dalbergioides*) is in flower, *.dô'ra-pō'ilola* would become *.châ'yara*[7] *.dô'ra*, and this double name would cling

[1] When near her delivery a woman will sometimes be heard saying (assuming the name chosen for the yet unborn child to be *.wō'loga*): *.wō'loga dab-ō'jolike*, *Wō'loga* is fidgetting me, or *.wō'loga dab-ngō'towake*, *Wō'loga* is clawing me, or, *.wō'loga ō'to-yârke*, *Wō'loga* is ready. [During the period of pregnancy, both the woman and her husband are spoken of as *pīj-jā'bag-*, which signifies "bad hair;" the only explanation offered for the adoption of such a term is that it is in allusion to the fœtus.] [843]

[2] These number forty. (*Vide* Appendix H.)

[3] A man calls a male namesake { if his senior, *mai'a ting'la.* / if his equal or junior } *mar ting'la.*
" " female " *chán ting'la.*
A man (or woman) calls a child of either sex bearing the same name } *ád ōt-ting-â'te-yâ'te-* (my-name-which-who).
A woman calls a male namesake { if her senior, *mai'a* (his name) *ting'la.* / if her equal or junior } *mar* (his name) *ting'la.*
" " female " if her senior, *chán ting'la.*
" " " " if her equal or junior } (her name) *ting-la.*
signifying respectively the genitals of the male and female.

[5] Dr. Day writes: "Girls arriving at a marriageable age wear certain flowers to distinguish themselves by"; but, as a fact, the flower is neither worn nor gathered.

[6] Names of these will be found in Appendix H.

[7] Euphonic corruption of *.châ'langa-*.

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to the girl until she married and was a mother,[1] then the "flower" name would give way to the more dignified term *chăn·a* (madam or mother) *.dô·ra;* if childless, a woman has generally to pass a few years of married life before she is called *chăn·a*,[2] after which no further change is made in her name.

4. In consequence of this system, as it rarely happens that in one community two women are found bearing the same "flower" *and* birth names, there is little chance of confusion arising.

5. Since no equivalent custom exists with regard to men,[3] nicknames are given which generally indicate some personal peculiarity, as, for instance, *.bī·a-pâg-* (*Bī·a-*, foot, he having large feet), *.bal·a-jō·bo-* (*Bal·a-*, snake, he having lost a hand from a snake-bite), *.pū·nga-dâ·la* (*Pū·nga-*, good-looking), and so on. All these names cling to the bearer for life, especially if they refer to some physical deformity.

6. Seniors often address young married persons in a (to us) strange fashion, *i.e.*, calling the husband by the wife's name and prospective designation; for example, in speaking to a man whose name is *.ī·ra*, and who had married a woman called *.tū·ra*, they would say *chăn·a .tū·ra;* if the wife were *enceinte* the child's name would be used beforehand to denote its parents; thus, assuming *.wō·loga* to be the name of the yet unborn child, the father would be called by that name, and the expectant mother *.wō·loga-būd-*[4] until after the birth of the infant, when, for several months, the former would still bear the same appellation among his seniors, but would receive from his juniors the more dignified title of *mai·a .wō·loga;* while the latter would be addressed by her seniors as *.wō·loga-ô·ta-* (or *kâ·ta-* in the case of her child being a girl), and by her juniors as *chăn·a .wō·loga-ô·ta-* (or *kâ·ta-*).[5]

Initiatory Ceremonies.—1. On or soon after reaching puberty, the fast[6] which has been kept during the few previous years (or in some cases, months) is broken; and instead of the affix *dâ·la*, the prefix *gū·ma*[7] (denoting in this connection a neophyte or

[1] From the account given under "Marriage," paragraph 4, it will be inferred that in many cases she has not long to wait.

[2] *Vide* section on "Relationships," paragraph 6.

[3] In a few cases nicknames are bestowed on women.

[4] *būd-* signifies house, habitation.

[5] For further information on the subject of proper names and terms applied to men and women, *vide* sections on "Relationships" and "Initiatory Ceremonies," and Appendices I and K.

[6] *Vide* section on "Tabu."

[7] In Dr. Day's paper the following passage occurs:—"The youthful swain eats a peculiar kind of ray-fish termed *goom-dah*, which gives him the title to the appellation of *goo-mo*, signifying, 'a bachelor desirous of marrying.' Girls arriving at a marriageable age . . . . (*vide* footnote 5 on previous page). Before marrying, young men take a species of oath, after which they sit very still for several days, scarcely taking any food." Plausible as this explanation

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557 novice) is attached to the boy's birth-name; he is also addressed
881 as *mar*[1] *gū·ma* (master novice) if senior to, and alone with the speaker: this term *gū·ma* is retained until the lad is married and is a father, after which *mai·a*[2] (Mr.)—or, if a chief, *mai·ola*—is adopted in its place, and by this title he would be known for the rest of his life. A young chief, however, attains the honorary designation of *mai·a* as soon as the novitiate terminates.[3]

881 2. The *â·kà-yâ·p-*, or fasting period (during which turtle, honey,
262 pork, fish, and a few other favourite articles of food[4] are *choses défendues*), commences between the 11th and 13th year, and varies in length from one to five years; it is observed by both sexes, but lasts longer in the case of girls, with whom, indeed, it is not terminable till some time after matrimony. As an *â·kà-yâ·b-* makes up for these restrictions by eating a larger quantity of other food, he (or she) does not ordinarily suffer in physique during the probationary period. It does not rest with the youth or maiden to determine when he, or she, will resume eating the various articles above mentioned, but with the chief, who decides when each individual's powers of endurance and self-denial have been sufficiently tested. Exceptional cases are cited in which the probationer has expressed a desire to prolong the time of abstinence, it being a cause for boasting when the average period has been exceeded.

3. As at present understood, the *â·kà-yâ·p-* is regarded as a test of the endurance, or, more properly speaking, of the self-denial of young persons, and as affording evidence of their fitness and ability to support a family. It is divided into three periods: 1st, the *yâ·dī-* (turtle) *gū·mul-*; 2nd, the *â·ja-* (honey) *gū·mul-*; and 3rd, the *règ-jī·ri-* (kidney-fat of pig) *gū·mul-*.[5]

4. When the youth is permitted, and agrees, to break his turtle fast, a feast is arranged by his friends, consisting entirely of that delicacy. The chief, or headman present, first boils in a pot (*būj-*[6]) a large piece of turtle-fat, which, when sufficiently cool, he

may appear, there is no connection between *gūm-*, a ray-fish, and *gū·ma* (a youth who has undergone his probationary fast); moreover, as mentioned in a foregoing section (*vide* "Proper Names"), marriageable young women do not derive their "flower" names in the manner here described; in point of fact, no such custom as "wearing flowers" is practised by any class.

[1] *Vide* section on "Relationships," paragraph 6.

[2] As with the term *chāu·a* among women, the title is not bestowed for several years if there be no child.

[3] Both before and after the *â·kà-yâ·p-* the individual is said to be *bó·tiga-*.

[4] These comprise the flesh of the iguana and paradoxurus, the larvæ of the Great Capricornis beetle (*òi·yum-*), and a smaller insect called *bū·tu-*.

[5] It will thus be seen that the *gū·mul-* answers very much to the Australian "bora," or ceremony of initiation into the privileges of manhood, spoken of by the Rev. W. Ridley in his Report on Australian Languages and Traditions (*vide* "Journ. Anthrop. Inst.," vol. ii, *p.* 269. 1873).

[6] *Vide* Appendix B, item 18.

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pours over the head of the lad, who remains seated and perfectly still in the midst of his friends while the oil streams over his body. The men present remove any ornaments that he may be wearing, and rub the grease into his person; the women and children meantime occupy themselves with crying, the idea being that, after abstaining from turtle for a long time, madness, illness, or even death, may result from partaking of it again.[1] After this the novice, who may not wash off the oil with which he has been anointed at least until late on the following day, is fed with the flesh of the turtle,[2] of which a certain quantity is reserved for his consumption on the ensuing two or three days, and the remainder is distributed among those assembled. He is then led to his hut and directed to sit cross-legged on a spot covered with leaves of the *Myristica longifolia*, with a support behind him against which he may lean. The turtle flesh, previously cooked and set apart for him, is deposited at his side, and one or more of his friends take it by turns to sit with him, it being their duty to enjoin silence, to supply his wants, and to prevent him from falling asleep by singing from time to time as the night wears away. The following morning his mother, sister, and other female relatives, come and weep[3] over him, and paint, first, his ears and the adjoining parts with *yâ·dī-kòi·ob-*, and afterwards his entire person with alternate stripes of this compound and *tâ·la-ōg-*. Some large leaves[4] made into two broom-like bundles are placed in his hands, and other leaves are placed in his waistbelt. Thus provided he rises and dances frantically,[5] swinging his arms at the same time, for an hour or more, while the women, who are seated with legs outstretched, keep time for him by slapping the hollow between their thighs with the palm of the right hand, which is held at the wrist by the other hand; the males look on, or, if they have gone through the ceremony themselves, accompany him in his performance.

5. After an hour or so, when, fatigued with his exertions, the youth stops dancing, the *yâ·dī-gū·mul-* is considered at an end, and the new *gū·ma* mingles with his friends, who, nevertheless,

[1] The same reason is given for the silence which the neophyte has to observe during this ceremony, as well as at the *á·ja-gū·mul-* and *reg-jī·ri-gū·mul-*.

[2] He is then said to *gū·mul mäg·ke* (or *gū·mul lē·ke*), *i.e.*, to eat, or devour, the *gū·mul-*.

[3] The reason given for this demonstration of grief is that the youth has now entered upon an important epoch in his life, and is about to experience the trials and vicissitudes incidental thereto.

[4] The leaves of the *Myristica longifolia* (*hō·rowa-*) are usually selected on these occasions, apparently because this tree is associated with turtle-hunting, paddles being made of the wood.

[5] The step is a peculiar one, and is only seen on these occasions: the performer keeps his heels together and stamps on the ground, at the same time he swings his arms violently, holding in his hands the two leaf brooms.

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continue to watch him carefully for two or three days, lest harm should result from his recent feast, and also because they think evil spirits are not unlikely to do him some injury by taking advantage of his supposed helpless condition to make him deaf, or cause him to forget his way, and thus meet the fate which, on the faith of their traditions, they believe to have overtaken two of their antediluvian ancestors.[1]

6. All that has been said of youths in respect to the *yâ·dī-gū·mul-* applies equally to young women, except that matrons remove the novice's ornaments, and all but one or two of her *bōd*-s (waistbelts[2]), and her *ō·bunga-* (leaf apron[3]), which are left for the sake of decency. As, while performing the concluding dance, some difficulty is experienced in regard to the *ō·bunga-*, girls are provided on these occasions with a more substantial apron of leaves, so that the feelings of the most prudish are not violated.

7. The origin of the term *gū·mul-lē·ke* is obscure, and inquiries have failed to elicit any satisfactory explanation regarding it; the literal translation is "rainy-monsoon devour-does," and though the *yâ·dī-gū·mul-* is always celebrated at that season of the year, the term is also applied to the honey feast, which can only take place during the dry months. The same equivalents are found in the other tribal dialects, so that the peculiarity is not confined to the *.bō·jig-ngī·ji-*. The only reasonable explanation offered is that the expression is in allusion to the sweaty (*gū·mar-*), or rain-like (*yūm-*), appearance of the novice when the melted fat or honey has been poured and smeared over his person.

8. Lengthened intercourse with the alien population in their midst has naturally led to their occasionally betraying some indifference in regard to customs, such as that above described; especially is this the case with those who have been brought up in the orphanage at Ross Island. A few years ago one of these youngsters, who had been named Martin, refused to accede to the wishes of his friends in the jungle home to which he had returned, and persisted in partaking of the articles of food proscribed to all of his age; as he happened shortly after to fall sick and die, they were fully persuaded that he had incurred his fate by failing to comply with the ancient rites and ceremonies as handed down by their fathers.

9. On the conclusion of the *yâ·dī-gū·mul-*, the youth is said to be an *â·kà·gū·mul-*, and, as before stated, is addressed as *gū·ma;* but this is not the case with the girl, possibly because she, at

[1] *Vide ante* "Mythology," paragraph 25.
[2] *Vide* Appendix B, item 25.
[3] *Vide* Appendix B, item 79.

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this period of her life, receives a "flower" name,[1] and does not, therefore require any additional designation to denote that she has attained maturity. If more than one become *gū·ma* on the same day they call each other *gū·ma l'àrjō·pinga-*.[2] After the *yâ·dī-gū·mul-* turtles' eggs and the kidney-fat of the ray-fish and turtle may, at the bidding of the chief, be again eaten by the novice, and in the first ensuing dry season edible roots, and the heart of the *Caryota sobolifera* may be added to the bill of fare without further ceremony than the observance of strict silence on the first occasion of partaking of them.

10. Between the *yâ·dī-gū·mul-* and the *â·ja-gū·mul-* no fruit may be eaten by the novices, who have, moreover, to abstain till after the *reg-jī·ri-gū·mul-* from pig's flesh of any kind.

11. When the honey fast is to be broken, a quantity of honey-combs, according to the number assembled, are on the appointed day procured: the *â·kà-yâ·b-* being placed in the midst of the group, the chief or other elder goes to him with a large honey-comb wrapped in leaves; after helping the novice to a large mouthful, which he does by means of a bamboo or iron knife, he presents the remainder to him, and then leaves him to devour it in silence: this he does, not, however, by the ordinary method, for it is an essential part of the ceremony that he should not use his fingers to break off pieces, but eat it bear-fashion, by holding the comb up to his mouth and attacking it with his teeth and lips.[3] After satisfying his present requirements, he wraps what is left of the comb in leaves for later consumption.

12. The chief then takes another comb and anoints the youth by squeezing it over his head, rubbing the honey well into his body as it trickles down. The proceedings at this stage are interrupted by a bath, in order to remove all traces of the honey, which would otherwise be a source of considerable inconvenience by attracting ants. Beyond the observance of silence, and continued abstention from *reg-jī·ri-*, the youth is under no special restrictions, being able to eat, drink, and sleep as much as he pleases.

13. Early the following morning the lad decorates himself with leaves of a species of *Alpinia*, called *jī·ni-*,[4] and then, in the presence of his friends, goes into the sea (or, if he be an *ē·rem-tâ·ya-*, into a creek) up to his waist, where, locking his thumbs

[1] *Vide ante* "Proper Names," paragraph 3.

[2] *àrjō·pike*, to share, or to be a partner with another.

[3] This mode of eating is termed *pai ke* (to use the lips), from *pai-*, the lip.

[4] This plant is selected because it is associated with honey-gathering; its bitter sap, being extremely obnoxious to bees, is smeared over their persons when taking a comb, and enables them to escape scot free with their prize (*vide post* "Food," paragraph 35).

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881 together, with open hands he splashes as much water as possible over himself and the bystanders, occasionally ducking his head under the surface as well. This is considered a safeguard or charm against *snakes*, and the on-lookers cry "*ô-to-ped-ike, kî-nig wâ-ra-jō-bo lô-tike* (Go and splash yourself, or *Wâ-ra-jō-bo*[1] will get inside you), for they imagine that unless they go through this splashing performance, this snake will by some means enter their stomachs and so cause death.

881 262 843 14. The only difference between the sexes with respect to the *â-ja-gū-mul-* is that with females it cannot take place until after the birth of the first child; they are also required to abstain from honey during each subsequent pregnancy; in their case, too, a chief or elder (preferably a relative) officiates, and not a woman.

881 15. A year is generally allowed to elapse between the *yâ-dî-gū-mul-* and the *reg-jîri-gū-mul-*. When this final step is determined on, the friends and relatives of the *â-kà-yâ-b-* start on a pig hunt, and, if unsuccessful, the *gū-mul-* has to be postponed, for, in the case of a young man, it is necessary that the ceremony be performed with a boar, while for females a sow must be procured.

16. When all is ready, and the party assembled, the chief presses the carcass of the boar heavily on the shoulders, back, and limbs of the young man as he sits on the ground,[2] silent and motionless, this is in token of his hereafter becoming, or proving himself to be, courageous and strong. The animal is then cut up, and when the fat has been melted, as in the previous cases, it is poured over the novice, and rubbed into his person; he is then fed with *reg-jî-ri-*, and if he makes signs for water it is given him, but, until the following day, he may not utter a word, rise, or even sleep. Two or three friends generally remain with him to attend to his requirements, which he makes known to them by gestures.

17. In the morning fresh leaves of a tree called *reg lâ-kà chàl-*—*the fruit of which* is much eaten by the *Sus And.*—are brought, and a quantity of them are placed in the hands of the youth, and some more in his waistbelt; he then rises and, as at the turtle feast, dances until fairly exhausted. During the month [262] following the *reg-jî-ri-gū-mul-*, the young persons are called *â-kà-gō-i-*, *i.e.*, "one commencing to eat."

18. It should be added that, whatever may have been the intention and practice in former years, it is not necessary at the present day for a youth to undergo these several ordeals before

[1] This is believed to be the *Ophiophagus elaps*.

[2] In the case of the woman, the carcass of the sow is not pressed in this manner on her limbs or body.

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he is permitted to marry:[1] although many remain single until they have undergone these various rites, it is considered almost as binding on those who marry before doing so, to comply with these time-honoured usages at some early opportunity.

Marriage.—1. It has been asserted that the "communal marriage,"[2] system prevails among them, and that "marriage is nothing more than taking a female slave,"[3] but so far from the contract being regarded as a merely temporary arrangement, to be set aside at the will of either party, no incompatibility of temper or other cause is allowed to dissolve the union, and, while bigamy, polygamy, polyandry, and divorce are unknown, conjugal fidelity till death is not the exception, but the rule, and matrimonial differences, which, however, occur but rarely, are easily settled with or without the intervention of friends.

2. It is undoubtedly true that breaches of morality have occasionally taken place among a few of the married persons who have resided for any length of time at Port Blair, but this is only what might be expected from constant association with the Indian convict attendants at the various homes; justice, however, demands that in judging of their moral characteristics we should consider those only who have been uninfluenced by the vices or virtues of alien races.

3. As in various other savage tribes, unchastity[4] is apparently universal among the unmarried of both sexes, and is indeed so entirely disregarded that no reproof is administered, even by the nearest relatives, to those who offend in this manner; notwithstanding this laxity, the girls are strikingly modest and child-like in their demeanour, and when married are good wives and models of constancy, while their husbands do not fall far short of them in this respect. It should, however, be mentioned, that the freedom which exists between the sexes prior to wedlock, is confined to those who are not within the prescribed limits of affinity, as their customs do not permit of the union of any who are known to be even distantly related, the fact of our allowing first cousins to marry seems to them highly objection-

[1] They think highly of a man who defers marriage until he is of full age, and the reverse of a youngster who rushes into matrimony before attaining the mature (!) age of eighteen.

[2] "So absolutely closely allied are the Andaman Islanders in their moral as well as physical life to the lower animals, that it is said by an eminent scientific voyager (Sir Edward Belcher) that the man and woman remain together until the mother ceases to suckle the child, after which they separate as a matter of course, and each seeks a new partner" (Brown).

[3] *Vide* Wood.

[4] "A great many races of mankind are quite indifferent to juvenile unchastity, and only impose strict conduct on their women after marriage" (Peschel).

[5] "It is precisely nations in the most primitive stage which have the greatest abhorrence of incestuous marriages" (Peschel).

APPENDIX II.

LIST OF *Proper Names*, TOGETHER WITH A LIST OF THE "*Flower*" *Names* BORNE BY YOUNG WOMEN DURING MAIDENHOOD, AND UNTIL THEY BECOME MOTHERS, AND A LIST OF THE VARIOUS *Seasons*.

Proper names (common to both sexes).		"Flower" name.	Name of tree (or insect), in season.	Names of the various minor seasons.	Names of the principal seasons.	Remarks.
Bal'da	*Bil'-bda*	*Ab'lipa* ...	*Ik'ero-* ...	*Ik'ero-wdh-*[1] ...	*pd'pur-*, also *pd'pur-wdh-*	The "*pd'pur-*" commences about the middle of November, and ends about the middle of February. It comprises the *cool season*.
Bd'ra	*Jd'ra*		*ch'lip-* ...	*ch'lip-wdh-* ...		[1] "*wdh*" signifies "season."
Bd'wdd	*Jt'pa*	*mul'da* ...	*pd-* ...	*pd-wdh-* ...		
Bl'a	*Jd'bda*		*jd-* ...	*jd-wdh-* ...		The "*pd'ra-bd'da-*" comprises the *summer and autumn* of the year. Honey is abundant at the commencement of this season, during the whole course of which the principal fruit trees are in bearing. This season lasts about three months, viz., till about the middle of May.
Bl'ola	*Jd'bda*	*Jl'ra*	*ô'ro-* ...	*ô'ro-wdh-* ...		[2] Lit., *season of abundance*.
Bl'ra	*Jad'bda*	*Jl'dpa* ...	*jl'dpa-* ...	*jl'dpa-wdh-* ...	*pd'ra-bd'da-*, also *ra'pa-wdh-*[2]	[3] This period is called "*bad'a-chda-*" (dirty body) owing to their practice of smearing their persons with the sap of a plant (*jl'ai-*) when engaged in removing a honeycomb from a hive swarming with bees.
Bd'rola	*Ngd'ngcda*		*bd'ra-*	*bd'ra-wdh-* ...		
Bd'dbcda	*Jad'll*	*pd'ra* ...	*pd'ra-*	*pd'ra-wdh-* ...		
Ba'rda	*pdir'da*		*bd'ja-*	*bd'ja-wdh-* ...		
Bd'rdpa	*pd'lpa*	*pd'bda*	*pd'bd-*	*pd'bd-wdh-* ...		
Chd'rwdla	*pd'rcola*	*bal'pa*	*bal'la-*	*bal'la-wdh-* ...		
chd'tla	*pd'rapa*	*rd'cha* ...	*rd'cha-* ...	*rd'cha-wdh-* ...		This season embraces the (1) *bd'la-ding-dd'rola-* (lit., *trunk falling*) or *spring*, and (2) *pd'wal-wdh-*. The former lasts about 3½ months, viz., till about the close of August. It comprises not only the spring but the *first half* of the rainy season. The latter (*pd'wal-wdh-*) lasts about 2½ months viz., till about the middle of November, and comprises the *latter half* of the rainy season. Among the articles of food eaten at this season are (1) the *bd'la-* (a sting found in rotten logs of *Garjan* wood) and (2) the *bi'pan-* (larva of the Great Capricornia beetle). The tails of the former are broken off and thrown away, hence *bi'pago-* (breaking off).
Jd'ra	*rd'ra*	*chd'lpa* ...	*chd'bcd-* ...	*chd'bcd-wdh-* ...		
pd'lwd	*rd'rda*	*chd'pa-la* ...	*chd'lcago-* ...	*chd'lcago-wdh-* ...		
Jl'ra	*jd'bd*	*chdir'apa* ...	*bd'la-*[3]	*bl'pago-wdh-* ...		
Jl'rola	*Jd'ra*		*chd'rap-*	*chd'rap-wdh-* ...	*pd'pdl-*	
jd'ra	*ard'i*		*bi'pan-*[4]	*bi'pan-* / *bl'pago-wdh-*		
jl'pbd-	*ard'rbdla*	*chan'ra* ...	*chan'ara-*	*chan'ara-wdh-* ...		
Jd'la	*ard'lapa*		*rdir-*	*rdir-wdh-*		
Ldl'pa	*pl'ra*	*pd'la* ...	*pd'la-*	*pd'la-wdh-* ...		

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J: Temple G-5 (1901) 1903 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

poreal resurrection in a religious sense. There is much active faith in dreams, which sometimes control subsequent conduct and in the utterances of "wise men," dreamers of prophetic dreams, gifted with second sight and power to communicate with spirits and to bring about good and bad fortune, who practise an embryonic magic and witchcraft to such personal profit by means of good things tabued to themselves as these people appreciate. There are no oaths, covenants and ordeals, nor any forms of appeal to supernatural powers. 771

Puluga, who is fundamentally with some definiteness identifiable with the storm (*Il'olaga*) mixed up with ancestral chiefs, has so many attributes of the Deity that it is fair to translate the term by "God." He has a wife and a family of one son and many daughters. He transmits his orders through his son to his daughters, who are his messengers, the Morowin. He has no authority over the evil spirits and contents himself with pointing out offenders against himself to them. The two great evil, *i.e.*, harmful, spirits are Eremchauga of the Forest and Juruwin of the Sea. Like Puluga both have wives and families. The minor evil spirits are Nila and a numerous class, the Choi, who are practically spirits of disease. The Sun is the wife of the Moon and the Stars are their children dwelling near Puluga, but there is no trace of sun-worship, though they twang their bows and "chaff" the moon during an eclipse, and a solar eclipse frightens them, keeping them silent.

The Andamanese idea of the soul arises out of his reflection in water and not out of his shadow which follows him about. His reflection is his spirit, which goes after death to another jungle world, Chaitan, under the earth, which is flat and supported on an immense palm tree. There the spirit repeats the life here, visits the earth occasionally and has a distinct tendency to transmigration into other beings and creatures. Every child conceived has had a prior existence and the theory of metempsychosis appears in many other superstitions, notably in naming a second child after a previous dead one, because the spirit of the former babe has been transferred to the present one, and in their recognising of all Natives of India and the Far East as *chaupa*, or persons endowed with the spirits of their ancestors.

Superstitions.—The superstitions and mythology of the Andamanese are the direct outcome of their beliefs in relation to spirits. Thus, fire frightens Eremchauga, so it is *always* carried. They avoid offending the Sun and the Moon by silence at their rise. Puluga shows himself in storm, and so they appease him by throwing explosive leaves on the fire, and deter him by burning beeswax, because he does not like the smell. Earthquakes are the sport of the ancestors. There are lucky and unlucky actions, but not many, and a few omens and charms. Animals and birds are credited with human capacities, *e.g.*, convicts murdered by Jarawas have been found with heavy stones placed on them and stones have been found placed along their pathways. Every Andamanese knows that this is a warning to the birds not to tell the English that the men had been murdered and that the murderers had passed along the path in front.

Mythology.—The great bulk of the Andamanese mythology turns on Puluga and his doings with Tomo, the first ancestor, to whom and his wife he brought fire and taught all the arts and for whom he created everything. This line of belief is still alive and everything natural that is new is attributed to Puluga. Thus when the Andamanese were introduced to the volcano, Barren Island, on seeing the smoke from the top they at once christened it Molatarchoua. Smoke Island, and said the fire was Puluga's. 773

The next most important element in the mythology is in the story of the cataclysm, which engulfed the islands and was of course caused by Puluga. It separated the population and destroyed the fire, which was afterwards stolen by Lariut, the kingfisher, and restored to the people. The population previous to the cataclysm became the *chaupa* or ghostly ancestors.

Other stories relate in a fanciful way the origin of customs, *e.g.*, tattooing and dancing, of the arts, articles of food, harmful spirits, and so on.

An important ethnological item in these stories is the constant presence of the ideas of metempsychosis and of metamorphosis into animals, fish, birds, stone and other objects in nature. Indeed the fauna chiefly known to the Andamanese are ancestors changed supernaturally into animals.

Initiatory Ceremonies.—There are rudimentary initiatory customs for both males and females, connected with arrival at puberty and marriageability 881

881 and pointing to a limited tabu. On reaching puberty or thereabouts, between 12 and 16 years of age, abstention from about 6 kinds of food, each in turn, is voluntarily commenced and continued for some years. At the end of each abstention there are a few ceremonies and some dancing and the youth of both sexes become "grown up." There is nothing else to mark this period beyond the application of an honorific name while it lasts, no secret to be communicated, no religious ceremony. In after-life, however, men who have gone through the initiatory period together will not fight, quarrel, nor call each other by name. They will assume great friendship, while avoiding each other with a mutual shyness. The women also practise a limited tabu as to food during menstruation and pregnancy. The idea of tabu does undoubtedly exist as to food and every man has his own tabued articles through life, which is, however, usually something observed to disagree with him in childhood or to be unpalatable.

264 576 There are also limitations as to sexual family relations. Only husband and wife can eat together. Widows and widowers, bachelors and maidens eat with their own sex only. A man may not address directly a married woman younger than himself or touch his wife's sister or the wife of a younger relative, and *vice versâ*.

302 304 The tattooing is partly ceremonial, as a test of courage and endurance of pain, and so is painting the body with clays, oils, etc. By the material and design is shown sickness, sorrow or festivity and the unmarried condition.

535 **Amusements.**—The great amusement of the Andamanese, indeed their chief object in life after the chase, is the formal evening or night dance, a curious monotonous performance accompanied by drumming the feet rythmically on a special sounding board, like a Crusader's shield and mistaken for a shield by several observers, singing a song more or less impromptu and of a compass limited to four semitones and the intermediate quarter tones, and clapping the hands on the thighs in unison. The dance takes place every evening whenever there are enough for it, and lasts for hours and all night at meetings of the tribes or septs for the purpose. It then becomes ceremonial and is continued for several nights in succession. Both sexes take allotted parts in it. This and turtle hunting are the only things which will keep the Andamanese awake al night long. There are five varieties of the dance among the tribes: that of the Onge-Jarawas being an entirely separate performance.

533 **Music.**—The Andamanese appreciate rhythm and time, but not pitch or tune. They sing in unison, but not in parts, and can neither sing in chorus nor repeat or even catch an air. The key in which a solo or chorus is started is quite accidental. They can be readily taught any dance step and can teach it themselves from observation.

Song.—Every man who respects himself is a composer of songs, always consisting of a solo and refrain, and sings without action or gesticulation and always to the same rhythm. The songs relate only to travel, sport and personal adventures, never to love, children and the usual objects of poetry, and very rarely to beliefs and superstition. The wording is enigmatic and excessively elliptic, the words themselves being in grammatical order, but shorn of all affixes as a rule. As in all poetry unusual words are employed. But clipped as the wording is and prosaic as the subjects are, the Andamanese are far from being unable to give a poetic turn to their phraseology and ideas. The women have lullabies for their babies.

524 **Games.**—The Andamanese are childishly fond of games and have an indigenous blind-man's-buff, leap-frog and hide-and-seek. Mock pig and turtle hunts, mock burials, and "ghost" hunts are favourite sports. Matches in swinging, swimming, throwing, skimming (ducks and drakes), shooting (archery), and wrestling are practised.

551 **Naming of Children and Adults.**—Every child is named for life after one of about twenty conventional names by the mother, of course without reference to sex, immediately upon pregnancy becoming evident, to which afterwards a nickname, varying occasionally as life proceeds, is added from personal peculiarities, deformities, disfigurements, or eccentricities and sometimes from flattery or reverence. Girls are also given "flower names" after one of sixteen selected trees which happen to be in flower at the time they reach puberty.

11: Cipriani E-3 (1951-1955) 1966 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

dead were buried securely bound in a knee-to-chest position, still the custom among the Andamanese). The Onges go no further than this and the idea of a Lord of the Spirits who rules all things, although on Great Andaman there has been some progress towards more anthropomorphic concepts. The complete absence of any form of cult, prayer, representation, or votive offering cannot, I feel, be the result of cultural decline from a more advanced age; this would have resulted in gross distortion and illogical superstition, but not in complete absence of any 'religious' practices of any kind.

18 SACRIFICE

No sacrifices of any kind are practised in the Andamans, nor is there any concept of propitiation, although there is evidence that even in the late Palaeolithic era some form of ritual sacrifice was practised, at least in Europe and probably over a much wider area. One would assume from this, and from paragraph 17 above, that the Andamanese is an even older culture.

19 TABOOS

Although my own experiences among the Onges have led me to think that taboos do not exist, some authors have asserted (in my view wrongly) their existence on Great Andaman. It is not, however, possible to draw any reliable conclusions on this point.

20 CEREMONIAL

The complete absence of any form of ritual surrounding birth, the purification of women, initiation, etc., or evidence of any such ritual in the past, is striking, in view of the prevalence in all the surrounding areas of strictly observed ceremonial for many occasions. As in the case of religion, such complete absence can only mean that the Andamanese became isolated before the idea of ritual spread to the area.

21 MEASUREMENT

The Andamanese have no means of counting, and no words to express gradations of time or size; to them everything is either 'small' or 'big'. They take no interest in the passing of years, and have no idea of their own age. To them life is but the passing of the seasons and the harvests of game and fish and fruits that they bring. This utter lack of any sense